

PRPC.C. Directive on Village Administration

NLF
FILE
SUBJ.
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SUB-CAT.
C. 1971

CED
1971

000871

1. COUNTRY: SOUTH VIETNAM	2. REPORT NUMBER: 6 028 0663 71
3. SUBJECT: Directive on the Establishment of Revolutionary Governments, Current Affairs Committee, COSVN. (U)	4. DATE OF REPORT: 12 June 1971
5. LOG NUMBER: A135.269 A135.275 A135.271 A135.281	6. NO. OF PAGES: 1
7. DATE OF INFORMATION: Unknown	8. REFERENCES: DIRM 1R, 1R3 SICR U-UPE-U1812
9. PLACE AND DATE OF ACQ: VS; 12 March 1971	10. ORIGINATOR: COMUSMACV (CDEB)
11. EVALUATION: SOURCE 2 INFORMATION 3	12. PREPARED BY: EDWARD A. FELIX, CRT, MI CHIEF, PROD DIV, US ELM, CDEC
13. SOURCE: CAPTURED ENEMY DOCUMENT	14. APPROVING AUTHORITY: GEORGE S. LAPINSKIS, LTC, USA DIRECTOR, US ELM, CDEC

(C-Sep 71) This report contains information obtained from an enemy document and concerns Directive 13/CT, undated, which was prepared by an unspecified agency ((possibly the Current Affairs Committee, COSVN)). The document prescribes measures to be emphasized in establishing a revolutionary government at all echelons; missions, guidelines, and requirements for the establishment of the revolutionary government; and the organization and working procedures of People's Liberation Committees at all levels.

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DIRECTIVE 13/CT

To cope with the changing situation, emphasis should be placed on establishing our revolutionary government at all echelons.

I. MEASURES TO BE EMPHASIZED IN ESTABLISHING THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AT ALL ECHELONS:

1. Since ¹⁹⁵⁹⁻⁶⁰~~1969~~, the people, under the leadership of the ((Lao Dong)) Party, have struggled constantly to break the oppressive enemy control in hamlets and villages and have strived to maintain ownership of ricefields for farmers. Many revolutionary infrastructure installations were established such as people's associations and agencies in charge of social activities, security, finance and economy, culture and education, public health, etc... ((sic)). Autonomous committees, Farmers' Association Chapters, and people's revolutionary committees were activated in many villages to strengthen the Revolution, suppress or punish counter revolutionaries, enemy spies and henchmen, fortify rural areas, and improve the people's living conditions. In reality, the people in these villages have regained control and are mastering their own destiny.

Early this year, to deal with the changing situation, the Party officially directed the establishment of the revolutionary government in our ((VC/NVA)) controlled hamlets and villages in preparation for the establishment of district and province level revolutionary government agencies.

In executing this directive, revolutionary government agencies have in fact been set up in many hamlets and villages. In some areas, democratic elections were conducted, creating a political enthusiasm among the people. Combat and ((farm)) production activities have increased and Party Chapters have been strengthened.

However, the majority of hamlets and villages in liberated ((VC controlled)) areas continue to lack the initiative necessary to the revolutionary government. They have favorable conditions, but do not organize elections. They only appointed village or hamlet government authorities introduced to the people by the Party Chapters. In addition, these appointed revolutionary governments operate lackadaisically and pay no attention to suppressing or punishing counter revolutionary people. Some large liberated areas in districts and provinces have made no efforts to establish revolutionary government agencies. This situation is due to the following serious shortcomings in leadership:

a. Our cadre understand neither the basic policy of the Revolution nor the importance of the establishment of the revolutionary government to violently overthrow the enemy ((RVN)) government and seize power for the people in local areas. They further fail to understand that during this General Offensive and Uprising, everyone should devote all his efforts and that the people must be mobilized to overthrow the enemy government.

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b. They do not increase their efforts to suppress counter-revolutionaries. They display poor methods for protecting and strengthening our controlled areas. They do not observe the people's democratic rights and privileges. Neither do they realize that the people's aspiration is the immediate establishment of the revolutionary government.

c. In conjunction with attacks against the enemy, we should strengthen our forces. The mission of strengthening our forces will be instrumental in the establishment of the revolutionary government. However, we are not interested in assigning cadre to the revolutionary government.

2. At present, favorable conditions exist for us to establish revolutionary government agencies at various levels:

a. We are currently in the General Offensive and Uprising. Our basic mission is to over-throw the enemy government to seize power for the people.

b. Resulting from the simultaneous phases of the General Offensive and Uprising, our controlled areas have expanded, and our liberated areas have been stabilized progressively. Therefore, consolidation of liberated areas, protection and improvement of the people's living conditions, and motivation of the people to support the front line have become more significant requirements.

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c. The development of the Party installations, revolutionary associations, and armed forces has progressed to a higher level.

d. Since the establishment of the revolutionary government at hamlet and village levels is rather rapid, guidance and leadership from higher echelons must be considered indispensable.

The establishment of revolutionary government agencies from higher to lower levels constitutes an urgent mission in our present struggle.

II. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT

1. Characteristics, missions, guidelines and requirements of the establishment of the revolutionary government in the immediate future:

The government is an instrument to implement the dictatorship of a social class.

Under the leadership of the Party, SVN has been going through a revolutionary process. Our immediate missions are to overthrow the ((RVN)) Puppet Government, establish a coalition government and turn SVN into an independent, democratic, peaceful, and neutral country. Afterwards, we should devote our efforts to achieve socialism.

In view of our present strategic mission, the revolutionary government in SVN has the characteristics of a people's democratic dictatorship. It is democratic toward the people (including workers, farmers, bourgeois, and entrepreneurs), but it is dictatorial towards reactionaries (such as land owners and mercantile bourgeois who are henchmen of the US).

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The revolutionary government will ensure the implementation of its dictatorship while simultaneously ensuring democracy for all revolutionary social classes and patriots and motivating them to participate in struggles against US imperialists and their henchmen. To achieve the above mission, the central and city governments (Saigon, Hue, Da Nang, Can Tho, My Tho, and Da Lat) have thus far rallied the people of all social classes. However, (village, district, and province levels) the key members of the revolutionary government must be workers and farmers. This is to ensure that the government is an instrument to implement the Party dictatorship and to achieve peace, reunification, socialism, and complete victory.

To fully understand the characteristics of the dictatorship of the revolutionary government in SVN, especially in this complex situation and fierceness of battle, we must fulfill the following requirements:

a. As an instrument of the Party, the revolutionary government plays a key role in achieving democracy. Its immediate missions are to crush the aggressive will of the US imperialists, overthrow the Puppet Government, and be determined to eliminate counter revolutionaries. Thus, none should display a rightist attitude or neglect to secure the dictatorship of the ((working)) class by considering that the policy of government at higher echelon is to unite the people of all social classes.

b. The revolutionary government is the people's government elected by the people to serve the people. It must secure the democratic rights of the people, especially the workers.

In the immediate future, efforts should be focussed on organizing revolutionary government elections at hamlet and village levels. We must consider this a sincere aspiration and a political privilege for the people. This will serve as a significant political motivation factor to gain the people's support for the Revolution to advance it towards complete victory.

c. To achieve the goals for the Revolution set forth by the Party, the revolutionary government must play the role of a combat organization to lead the people to smash the aggressive will of the US imperialists, overthrow the Puppet Government, and provide protection for the Revolution.

d. Revolutionary government agencies at all levels must implement Party policy lines. Thus, high-level revolutionary government agencies should provide guidance for lower levels (village, district, and province

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levels). It is to be remembered that only when we have strong lower echelon agencies can we effect our policy of uniting the people on a broad front at the higher echelons.

2. Missions:

In executing Party political policy lines, the basic long-term missions of the revolutionary government in SVN are to motivate the people to engage in the Revolution against the enemy to gain democracy, peace, reunification of the country, and achieve socialism and Communism.

To successfully liberate SVN, protect NVN, and achieve independence, democracy, peace, and neutrality in SVN, we must fulfill the following requirements:

a. Unite and indoctrinate the people and heighten their revolutionary awareness. Motivate them to take part in revolutionary activities; crush the US imperialists' aggressive will; overthrow the Puppet Government; suppress reactionaries; maintain security and order; and establish and consolidate the revolutionary government.

b. Better the people's living conditions in all fields (political, economic, cultural and social fields ... ((sic))). Issue land to them and help them increase farm production and protect their crops. Practice democracy and develop economic, cultural and social warfare. Keep the people from being poisoned by the US depraved and alien culture. Take care of WIA and dead heroes' families, etc... ((sic)).

c. Motivate members of revolutionary associations and the people to increase ((farm)) production and contribute manpower and property to the Revolution by applying the slogan "all for the front line and victories."

d. Strengthen and develop the armed forces, and assist local organizations such as labor unions and Women's, Farmer's and Youth Associations, etc... ((sic)).

e. Successfully implement Party policies towards religions, ethnic minority groups, and Puppet officers and enlisted men.

f. Provide guidance for patriotic emulation movements.

3. Guidelines and requirements:

Considering current revolutionary requirements and missions, guidelines and requirements for the establishment of a revolutionary government are as follows:

The establishment of the revolutionary government must be proportionate to subversion of the Puppet Government.

During the first stages, we should establish hamlet and village revolutionary government agencies. Then, when conditions permit, we should strive to establish agencies in districts, provinces, province capitals, and cities, and prepare for the establishment of a central government.

III. ORGANIZATION AND WORKING PROCEDURES OF PEOPLE'S LIBERATION COMMITTEES AT ALL LEVELS:

A. Organization of Hamlet and Village Revolutionary Government Agencies:

Establishment of revolutionary government in hamlets, villages, wards, (plantation areas) cities under our control:

In hamlets, there must be hamlet liberation sections.

In villages, there must be village people's liberation committees. The composition and missions of hamlet and village government agencies prescribed in the directive issued in Jan 68, are amended as follows:

a. Village revolutionary government agencies must be elected by the people.

b. Village people's liberation councils must be elected in all liberated areas and areas under our temporary control where Party Chapters, popular organizations, and guerrilla forces are strong. These councils will designate the village people's liberation committees and these committees will, in turn, designate hamlet liberation sections.

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C. In areas under mixed control, (where we have few installations and our power is weak), if we cannot elect village people's liberation councils, we should establish village civilian military councils (instead of as prescribed in the previous directive). Members of these councils are representatives of popular associations, militia, guerrilla, security, information, education, public health, and social service organizations and representatives of hamlets (in accordance with the current situation in local areas). Hold civilian-military congresses in villages to elect village provisional people's liberation committees.

Upon establishment, government agencies in hamlets and villages will organize a public presentation if conditions permit.

2 ((sic)). In districts and provinces:

a. District people's liberation committees are to be established in districts where at least 50 percent of the villages are liberated or under mixed control, or in areas where the significant villages have been liberated (where revolutionary installations are numerous, the population dense, and resources abundant). In districts where the enemy has caused us many difficulties, we should appoint district provisional people's liberation committees.

b. Province people's liberation committees are to be set up in provinces where 50 percent of the districts or the important districts have established district people's liberation committees.

c. In the present situation, the district provides direct leadership and guidance for villages. The province is the next higher echelon which provides guidance for districts in leadership over villages.

Therefore, qualified members must be elected to district and province revolutionary government agencies.

d. Under current circumstances, it is not expedient to organize elections for province and district people's liberation councils; but we should hold civilian-military congresses or open congresses of the ((Liberation)) Front or district and province political congresses. Participants should include representatives of the Front, associations, and executive committees at equivalent level, notables and representatives of village people's liberation committees (if the congress is conducted by the district) or representatives of the district people's liberation committees (if the congress is held by the province) to publicly appoint people's liberation committees for districts and provinces.

Afterwards, we should hold a public presentation ceremony for these committees and disseminate circulars, proclamations, and appeals, etc ... ((sic)) to motivate the people to strengthen solidarity, increase farm production activities to support the front line, and uphold the prestige of the revolutionary government.

Regions should gain experience from the establishment of district and province revolutionary government agencies.

3. In district seats, province capitals, and cities:

At present, we should prepare plans and select qualified individuals for district seat, province capital and city people's liberation committees. When the liberation is completed, these committees will be announced and activated immediately.

B. Organization and Missions of People's Liberation Committees:

1. Organization:

a. Criteria for selecting members of district and province people's liberation councils and committees:

Combatants (with achievements).

Serve the people wholeheartedly.

Esteemed by the people.

Those who do not meet the above standards should not be selected. Avoid partiality and introducing incompetents into the government.

Based upon the above three standards, we should carefully select those who have outstanding combat achievements and display a hard working attitude.

b. Composition:

Village people's liberation councils must represent the people of all social classes, including religious and ethnic minority village residents.

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Party members in a village council should not exceed two-thirds of the total membership of the council. But in newly liberated areas where Party members are not numerous, we should introduce additional Party members ((to the council)) to strengthen Party leadership. We should also pay attention to electing, as members of the council, people considered faithful and receptive to the Party and those who are enthusiastic and trusted by the people to maintain a revolutionary nature in the council.

Do not hesitate to introduce women to agencies at various echelons (council and committee) and assign important tasks (chairman, vice-chairman, secretary) to those who have displayed good conduct and performance of tasks. But assignment of mission should be conducted concurrent with training for improvement.

The people's liberation committees in villages, districts, and provinces are generally composed of seven to nine members: A chairman, one or two vice-chairmen, a secretary, and one member in charge of security (in places where personnel are inadequate, the committee has only five members). District and province committees must each have a vice-chairman who is a distinguished intellectual.

The majority of members of the people's liberation committee at village, district, and province levels must come from the working, poor, and middle farmer classes. In some provinces, it is necessary that the committee have some members who belong to the class of intellectuals receptive to the Party and who can exert a political influence on the middle class. In addition, attention should be paid to women, youths, religious and ethnic minority people (in areas where they are present).

A standing committee is composed of a chairman, one or two vice-chairmen, secretary, and a member in charge of security. This committee provides guidance on behalf of the government between the two conferences held by the people's liberation committee and must report achievements to the latter.

The standing committee of a village people's liberation council (of three to five members) should be activated according to the directive disseminated in Jan 68.

Village people's liberation committees operate as standing committees for village people's liberation councils.

2. Assignment of duty to members of people's liberation committees villages, districts, and provinces:

a. Assignment of duty should be conducted as follows:

Five-member committee:

Chairman and vice-chairman assume responsibility for financial and military affairs.

Secretary is responsible for information activities.

One member is responsible for security activities.

One member is responsible for activities concerning wounded and dead soldiers, social activities, and public health.

Seven-member committee:

Chairman and vice-chairman take charge of financial and military activities.

One member in charge of security activities.

One member in charge of education and information.

One member in charge of financial affairs.

One member in charge of activities concerning wounded and dead soldiers, social activities, and public health.

Nine-member committee:

Chairman takes charge of general activities.

One vice-chairman takes charge of military activities.

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Another vice-chairman takes charge of financial activities.

Secretary.

One member in charge of security activities.

One member in charge of production.

One member in charge of education.

One member in charge of culture and information.

One member in charge of activities concerning wounded and dead soldiers, social activities, and public health.

b. To promote Party leadership for government tasks, all Party Committee echelons should assign the following specific missions:

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Deputy secretary as chairman.

If the chairman is a scholar, the deputy secretary will be vice-chairman in charge of finance-economy and the standing committee. The chairman will assume general affairs.

Those responsible for military, security, and finance-economy ((branches)) should be necessarily ((Party)) Committee members (concurrently branch chiefs). The deputy chiefs of the three above branches should be selected from specialized members.

In villages where the Chapter Party Committees are not available, or there are insufficient Chapter Party Committee members, hard-core Party members should be made responsible for the above three branches; where there are insufficient Party Chapter members loyal outstanding sympathizers can be used in these functions.

As for other specialized branches, we should assign experts and specialists as branch chiefs to utilize their experiences in their positions. It is not necessary that they be ((Party)) Committee members or members of the ((people's liberation)) committee.

c. Some working regulations:

1. Relations between liberation committee echelons:

a. People's liberation committees at all echelons and the government steering committee for regions and SVN should follow the principles of collective leadership and individual accountability. They should draw up activity plans periodically and conduct regular meetings to maintain control of the implementation of guidelines and policies, activities and working procedures of the ((liberation)) committees and government steering committees. Representatives of people's liberation committees of higher echelons and lower echelons should hold periodic conferences to review the situation and disseminate ((Party)) policies and projects.

b. Low-level people's liberation committees should comply with all directives and guidelines of high-level people's liberation committees.

The Party and Group within the government should request instructions from Party Committee echelons when implementing directives and guidelines on important problems.

c. While implementing directives and guidelines, low-level people's liberation committees should report regularly to high-level people's liberation committees.

People's liberation committees at high-levels should regularly keep lower levels informed of the situation and activities of the local movement (except details which must be kept secret).

2. Relations between people's liberation committees and non-Party members of revolutionary groups and associations at all levels:

a. The government is an organization which protects the people's interests. It relies on the people to comply with all Party policies. Therefore, people's liberation committees at all levels should maintain close relations with the people. Village authorities should report their activities periodically to the people. Government cadre should consider themselves soldiers fighting for a just cause. They should stay close to and mingle with the people, serve them devotedly, and note their aspirations. Be determined to avoid bureaucracy, tyranny, or an unfriendly attitude towards the people, and should not allow themselves to be swayed by the people.

b. Revolutionary groups and associations support the government. Consequently, people's liberation committee members should strive to fulfill their roles and assist these associations in their activities. People's liberation committees should closely coordinate with all ((revolutionary)) groups and associations to indoctrinate the people, and motivate them to implement the directives and guidelines of the government. The government can also act as a sounding board for the people's aspirations and opinions through the above groups and associations.

c. Representatives of lateral echelon ((revolutionary)) groups and associations should be invited to open conferences held by people's liberation committees at all levels to review the situation and formulate activity plans.

d. All groups and associations should focus their attention on protecting and heightening the prestige of the revolutionary government and on indoctrinating group and association members to respect their government, set examples in implementing government policies, and make constructive critiques on government activities.

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3. Assessment of relations between people's liberation committees and all lateral branches at each level:

a. Specialized lateral branches are subordinate to people's liberation committees. People's liberation committees at various echelons are responsible for directing and stimulating all lateral specialized branches to implement the directives of the committees and specialized agencies of higher

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echelons. They are also responsible for coordinating with the specialized branches in fulfilling their tasks. In addition, they should send representatives to attend meetings held by the specialized branches.

b. Specialized branches are under the direct leadership of the people's liberation committee of the same level, and under technical guidance of the superior branches.

c. Regular or special reports on activities of the specialized branches should be submitted to the committee. Military and security agencies should also report on the general situation of the branches, enemy schemes and activities, and the people's actions against the enemy. But they should not report classified information on their forces, organization, or matters under investigation, etc ... ((sic)).

d. Reports and requests for instructions should be submitted ((by the specialized branches)) to the committee so that it can provide guidance to them on implementing higher echelon directives correctly in accordance with the local situation. If dissension between a low-level committee and a high-level special branch occurs, the low-level committee should request instructions from the high-level committee.

4. Relations between ((Party)) Committee echelons and the Party and Group, and between the Party and Group and committees at each level:

a. Designed as an organization to ensure implementation of Party policies in local areas, the ((Party)) Committee should use the Party and Group as intermediaries to direct the government. The Party and Group are responsible to the ((Party)) Committee for ensuring the implementation of Party policies and resolutions. The Party and Group consist of a number of Party members (two, three, or five) elected by lateral ((Party)) Committees to positions in the government. The components of the Party and Group are a secretary (at times a deputy secretary) and members.

b. The Party and Group must implement resolutions of the ((Party)) Committee and the government, are responsible for disseminating resolutions of the ((Party)) Committee, and must submit comments on the leadership of the government to the ((Party)) Committee.

c. Regular and special reports on activities of the committees and implementation of government policy should be submitted to the ((Party)) Committee by the Party and Group. The Party and Group should request instructions from the ((Party)) Committee for major and new problems of political or economic importance which involve the people and are significant to high-level committee policy, but have not yet been set forth by the lateral ((Party)) Committee echelon. A request for instructions should also be submitted when confronted with problems not in accordance with the policy and resolutions of the lateral ((Party)) Committee.

d. Be prepared and unanimous in drafting plans for meetings and open conferences to be held by the committee.

e. The Party and Group should explain the policy and resolutions of the ((Party)) Committee to all committee members and convince them to be united in implementing the committee policy.

In villages, the Party and Group in people's councils and people's liberation committees will act as intermediaries between the ((Party)) Committee and the Party and Group, and village ((people's liberation)) committees. The Party and Group will bring the resolutions of a village Party Chapter before the people's council for discussion prior to ordering the people's liberation committee to implement it. The Party and Group at village level should be attentive to suggestions by the people and the people's council and study the suggestions and submit them to the Party Committee. The Party Committee will make a decision and discuss the implementation procedures.

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